

# JOHAN DAVID ÅKERBLAD: ORIENTALIST, TRAVELLER, AND MANUSCRIPT COLLECTOR

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Johan David Åkerblad (Stockholm 1763 – Rome 1819) was legation secretary at the Swedish mission in Constantinople in 1792–1793. Arriving at his first diplomatic posting in the Ottoman capital in 1784, he had already spent a great part of the 1780s travelling in the Eastern Mediterranean. During the Christmas of 1792, Åkerblad wrote to a botanist friend in Stockholm:

I have wasted more money than I should on manuscripts of all kinds, and the worst of it all is that I sense the complete futility of it. A flash of lightning strikes from France that makes a connoisseur of herbs look up from his magnifying glass and his cap, and the orientalist from his manuscript....<sup>1</sup>

That collecting manuscripts felt futile is easy to understand. Europe was in turmoil and the political situation in Constantinople was complicated. Åkerblad had been critical of increased despotism in Sweden during Gustav III's reign and welcomed the French Revolution. Some of his diplomat colleagues even considered him "a dangerous man of Enlightenment".<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, for the first time, we can now judge whether (according to our perspective) he wasted his money. Although we do not know what he paid, Åkerblad's *Shahnama* was certainly a judicious acquisition on the Constantinople book market in 1792 (Figures 1, 2, 3).<sup>3</sup>

This and the following article will briefly trace the history of Åkerblad's collecting and the vicissitudes of his Oriental manuscripts. My article introduces Åkerblad, while the following contribution by Olga Vasilyeva treats the history

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<sup>1</sup> Johan David Åkerblad [JDA] to Olof Swartz, 24 Dec. 1792, Constantinople, Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien [The Royal Academy of Science], Stockholm. Åkerblad himself wrote the finishing five periods.

<sup>2</sup> JDA to Schering Rosenhane, 25 Feb. 1797, Constantinople, G 231 h, Uppsala University Library [UUL].

<sup>3</sup> Please note that all figures for this and the next contribution are to be found in the plates insert between the two articles.

of these manuscripts after Åkerblad's sale of his collection in 1815 and presents an inventory of Åkerblad's manuscripts that now are housed in Russian institutions.

Kaj Öhrnberg was instrumental to these articles being written. While Olga Vasilyeva was researching the Russian General Jan Pieter van Suchtelen's collection of Oriental manuscripts, she found an inscription on the *Shahnama* that read "Åkerblad Constple 1792". She asked Kaj whether he had any idea of who this Åkerblad might be. Kaj Öhrnberg was aware of my work on Åkerblad and he put us in contact. This subject is a fitting tribute to his wide interests in Arabic and Oriental history, and it is also relevant to another of his areas of interest: European travellers to the Middle East and Arabia. We express our sincere thanks to Kaj Öhrnberg, who by putting us in contact made it possible to add another piece of research on the history of Northern European Oriental scholarship and collecting.

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When I first began researching Åkerblad's life, one of the main starting points was to look at his two notebooks conserved in the Vatican Library. The larger one of these, the *Vaticani Latini 9785*, has on its last pages (fols 73r–75r) a list of *Libri manuscripta* (Figure 4).<sup>4</sup> The list (see Appendix 2 in the following article) comprises four vellum manuscripts, as well as six Coptic, five Ethiopian, 23 Arabic, 17 Persian, 27 Turkish, and three Tatar manuscripts. Printed books are listed at the end, such as Golius's and Castell's dictionaries, various grammars, and parts of the Bible in several languages. When I first read the list, I had problems understanding that it actually referred to Åkerblad's own collection of Oriental manuscripts.

The received knowledge on Åkerblad was that he never had any money, so it struck me as unlikely that he could have acquired so many manuscripts (even considering the low prices on the book markets in Constantinople and the Middle East in the 1780–1790s). Like many others before me, I had taken too seriously his and his scholarly colleagues' laments about economical hardships. His petitions and correspondence are full of requests for money from his employers, but while it is certainly true that he did live for long periods with very little money, he sometimes did have enough money to acquire precious manuscripts and objects. While Åkerblad may not have been an obsessive collector (that is, someone who lets the quest for objects take over their lives), the 1792 letter indicates that he sometimes made acquisitions with money that he might have needed for other purposes.

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<sup>4</sup> For a full treatment of Åkerblad and his accomplishments, see Thomasson 2013; 2011.

After having found other small pieces of information on certain of the manuscripts listed in the inventory (the Samaritan Bible fragment mentioned below is such an example), I realised that the pages in *Vaticani Latini 9785* indeed described his own collection. The list of the manuscripts was tantalising, and I tried to trace them in both Sweden and Italy. I assumed that Åkerblad might have sold the manuscripts during his time in Italy (1805–1819), but my attempts to find them in Italian collections proved unsuccessful. As his contacts with French Oriental scholars were frequent, I also checked the catalogues of the main French repositories to make sure that they had not been sold to France. The other hypothesis was that they had been sold after his death in Stockholm, but there was no track of them in the records of the sale organised by Åkerblad's sister after his death in 1819. Neither could I find any of the manuscripts in Sweden. It was only when Olga Vasilyeva contacted me that the idea that he himself sold his collection during his lifetime and that they had ended up in a third country, so to speak, dawned on me. While this was one of those late realisations that of course should have come earlier, it was nevertheless a welcome breakthrough that added important information about Åkerblad's scientific interests and new keys to understanding his rather exceptional life. I would also like to take the opportunity here to thank Olga Vasilyeva for her extraordinary investigative work in several Russian institutions that made it possible to reconstruct Åkerblad's manuscript collection almost in its entirety.

Åkerblad's collection should be understood as formed by opportunity. He acquired the most interesting manuscripts that came his way and that he could afford. The collection is also testimony to his broad scholarly interests. Åkerblad was not a believer, and though he was well versed in both Christian history and pagan mythology, his interests were predominantly secular. His collection represents an interesting example of what a single European scholar with limited economical means could buy while travelling and working in the Ottoman Empire in the late eighteenth century.

## TRAVELLER IN THE EAST

During Åkerblad's first posting to Constantinople in the 1780s, he came to know most of the foreign scholars in the city. Two of Åkerblad's close friends from Constantinople, the ex-Jesuit Giambattista Toderini and the Tuscan scholar Domenico Sestini, ran into problems when they tried to acquire manuscripts. Toderini explained the subterfuge involved in book-buying:

I went with abbe Sestini to Sarçî, the book market which is a long street with shops full of codices on both sides, to buy something. The Turks are very

restive in communicating their writings and mysteries to the Infidels (that is how they call us), and when they saw us browsing through the books, they shouted in our faces. To avoid being insulted, and to make sure that the seller would not have problems, we left but made him a sign that he should follow us. We escaped to a different street and made our deal with the bookseller in an Armenian workshop.<sup>5</sup>

Toderini's broad interests and scientific curiosity are mirrored in the depth of enquiry and the organisation of the material found in his three-volume study of Ottoman learning, *Letteratura Turchesca*. It starts with a passionate defence of Ottoman and Muslim attitudes towards learning and science:

Before commencing the study of Turkish Literature, I must correct a great popular error, still rooted in the soul of many learned Europeans, who are firm in the belief, writing on Muhammad, that while the sciences were cultivated before, he felt that the threat against his doctrine was such that he with severe rules closed any admittance to the study, making ignorance the base upon which the bizarre Moslem religion was founded.<sup>6</sup>

The purpose of Toderini's book was to relegate this error to history, a goal that Åkerblad sympathised with. Åkerblad had profound knowledge of, and respect for, both Ottoman and Arab learning. He studied Arabic and Turkish at Uppsala University with Carl Aurivillius, probably the foremost Orientalist in Sweden at the time. Aurivillius had studied with Christian Benedikt Michaelis in Halle, Étienne Fourmont in Paris, and Albert Schultens in Leiden. Åkerblad was already at the age of twenty when he left Uppsala, knowledgeable about the new directions in Oriental scholarship, and he would visit several universities and libraries on his way to Turkey. At the risk of simplifying the history of Orientalism, Åkerblad was part of a growing secular strand of Oriental studies that saw the study of Oriental literature as an object that was worthy in and of itself, without being explicitly related to Christian and theological issues. The abundance of religious texts tired Åkerblad, as shown by his comment – in this case, on Coptic manuscripts – about their boring nature: “this literature offers few attractions, and [...] such studies require a lot of courage”.<sup>7</sup>

When he arrived as *jeune de langue* in Constantinople in 1784, he was well prepared. And in contrast to most of his foreign colleagues – including Toderini and Sestini – he soon spoke the local languages, to the extent that he was able to

<sup>5</sup> Toderini 1787, II: 35.

<sup>6</sup> Toderini 1787, I: 1.

<sup>7</sup> Åkerblad 1834: 340.

travel in disguise. We have many testimonies to Åkerblad's exceptional fluency in Arabic, Turkish, and Modern Greek.

Kaj Öhrnberg has extensively studied and written about another Scandinavian famed for having travelled in disguise, Georg August Wallin (1811–1852). Wallin spent years under his Arabic alter-ego, while Åkerblad only seemed to have used his when it was expedient during his travels. For example, he entered Jerusalem on horseback in 1788 at a time when all Christians were forced to dismount: "But as no one considered me Christian I rode all the way to the monastery of the Saviour, to which I was directed."<sup>8</sup> While travelling in the Nile Delta, he dressed up as a Janissary, in this case with security being the main reason: "I did this trip disguised as a Turkish soldier and I am in despair because neither my purse nor my time permitted me to see the entire Delta that is to us so unknown and that my disguise made it possible to do in safe conditions."<sup>9</sup> There is a certain mystique around these travellers who knew languages and customs so well. This aura is not unlike the fame of travellers that reputedly visited Mecca, Medina, and other holy sites. It would possibly be more interesting to shift the debate from who could travel in disguise, and where they happened to go, to a discussion on how this knowledge changed the travellers' perceptions and ideas about the cultures and places that they visited.

## COLLECTING MANUSCRIPTS AND LANGUAGES

An important part of extending Oriental knowledge during this period was the search for new texts. As interest in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian literature grew during the eighteenth century, many travellers did their utmost to find works unknown in the West. Printing arrived relatively late in the Ottoman empire, and thus the quest was mainly directed towards manuscripts, although printed books – for instance, in Modern Greek – also attracted the attention of Åkerblad and his scholarly friends. One of Åkerblad's travelling companions, the French scholar Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard D'Ansse de Villoison, was luckier in his quest for manuscripts than Åkerblad. He had more money and, importantly, he had backing by the French ambassador in Constantinople. Nevertheless, Villoison complained that it was very difficult to buy manuscripts from unwilling priests: "it required a great deal of labour and sweat to get the manuscript book from

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<sup>8</sup> Fol. 42r, Vat. lat. 9785, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [BAV], Città del Vaticano.

<sup>9</sup> JDÅ to Carl Christoffer Gjörwell, 28 Dec. 1787, Constantinople, no. 105, Ep G 7:17, National library of Sweden [KB], Stockholm.

Father Sloutziari".<sup>10</sup> The verb used by Villoison, *extorqueo*, implies that a certain amount of force was needed.

The search for manuscripts was actually also a part of Swedish government policy. Åkerblad's immediate travelling predecessor, the learned Jacob Jonas Björnstähl, died while surveying monastery libraries in Northern Greece in 1779. He had been instructed by the government to search for texts of religious and linguistic interest on behalf of a Swedish commission set up to deliver a new translation of the Bible. Åkerblad's official brief, on the other hand, was to gain insights into both the spoken and written languages of the Mediterranean in order to be able to serve the government as interpreter and translator. Nevertheless, he often had difficulties convincing his superiors in the diplomatic service that all of his travels were really necessary. When it came to finding new texts, his results were meager, as Åkerblad explained to a benefactor in Stockholm:

Around Tripoli are several Greek and Maronite monasteries, some of which I visited in the hope of finding manuscripts. This was the foremost reason for my trip to the Lebanon. I can now explain to Sir that the learned have little new to expect of that kind from there. I have minutely surveyed almost all of the book collections on the Lebanon; they only contain Syriac and Arabic breviaries and a few Arabian poets long known in Europe. A single historical work, which I believe is not known, have I had copied. It is a kind of chronicle about Lebanon and other places in Syria from the beginning of the Mohammedan epoch until 1730, written by a Maronite Patriarch Stephan. It is written in Arabic but with Syriac letters (this manner of writing is called *Karschuni*).<sup>11</sup>

However, according to his notebook he also found other things that were yet not widely known or published. Two such examples were extracts from a historical work by Ibn Asbāṭ, Ḥamzah ibn Ahmad (d. 1520) and a medical tract by Anṭākī, Dā'ūd ibn 'Umar (d. 1599).<sup>12</sup> Other things caught his attention as well, often because of the linguistic challenges posed by the texts. He describes buying a manuscript in Jaffa (the only item in his collection about which we have precise information on its acquisition): "During my stay in Jaffa I got acquainted with some Samaritans. I bought from one of them a fragment of the Samaritan Bible that contains some chapters of the Deuteronomy" (Figure 5). In his notebook, he also wrote down the Samaritan alphabet with the help of one of the local Samaritans.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Homer: xlvi.

<sup>11</sup> JDÅ to Carl Christoffer Gjörwell, 28 Dec. 1787, Constantinople, no. 105, Ep G 7:17, KB.

<sup>12</sup> Fol. 24r, Vat. lat. 9785. For Ibn Asbāṭ, see Brockelmann 1938: 42, no. 15. For Anṭākī, see Brockelmann 1902: 364, no. 3, 2nd title.

<sup>13</sup> JDÅ to Gjörwell, 1 March 1789, Marseille, no. 5, Ep G 7:13, KB; fol. 12r, Vat. lat. 9785.

Åkerblad's travels in the Mediterranean during the 1780–1790s also left other types of paper trails. We can follow some of his peregrinations through a few of his passports, which came into Suchtelen's possession. An Ottoman passport from 1784 named the cities of Brussa, Salonica, Jerusalem, Baghdad, and the province of Egypt. The destination of Baghdad is especially intriguing. We have no sources that mention Åkerblad's intentions to travel there, but it might have been part of his programme. He did, for instance, want to visit Palmyra (although he never succeeded in doing so). Another Ottoman passport from 1796 (during his final posting to Constantinople) granted travel to Salonica and the islands of the archipelago (Figure 6).

Åkerblad's main interest was languages. He wrote in a large number of languages and scripts. A tentative count exceeds twenty: Albanian, Aramaic, Arabic (various dialects), Coptic, Dutch, English, Ethiopic (Ge'ez and Amharic), Etruscan, French, German, Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Kurdish, Persian, Phoenician, Portuguese, Spanish, Syriac, Swedish, Samaritan, Tatar, Turkish, and so on. While living in Rome in the 1810s, anyone interested in Oriental languages would visit him: "I also became acquainted with Signior Åkerblad at Rome, who is another of these extraordinary linguists – his knowledge [of languages] is *confined to twenty-three*."<sup>14</sup> Åkerblad approached new languages with an initial period of intense studies; he wrote to a female friend about his newly found obsession with Aramaic: "since a month, goodbye Greek, antiquities, Coptic, society, amusements, I am not occupied with anything but Chaldean [Aramaic]. I well know it is a great folly, but what do you want, I have been carried away, and one does not become wise when one wants."<sup>15</sup> A year later it was Ethiopic's turn, including both the ancient Ge'ez – still used in liturgy – and the living Amharic: "I have for the past few months plunged myself into certain barbarous investigations; an Ethiopian priest comes home to me every day to teach me the *cursed cries* of his language."<sup>16</sup> He also taught several languages throughout his life and his methods appear quite modern. A 1790s visitor to Constantinople asked for his advice:

When I after some time requested Åkerblad to find me a good language teacher for the common Turkish and New Greek I might need, he answered that no language master was necessary. I only needed a good memory and

<sup>14</sup> Henry Salt to William R. Hamilton, 28 Jan. 1816, Malta, in Halls 1834, 1:441.

<sup>15</sup> JDÅ to Friederike Brun, 7 Feb. 1810, Rome, fol. 147, NKS 1992, Danish National Library, Copenhagen.

<sup>16</sup> JDÅ to Sebastiano Ciampi, 16 April 1811, Rome, Raccolta Sebastiano Ciampi, Cassetta E. 368, Forteguerriana library, Pistoia.

to follow his instructions, after that he taught me to conjugate and decline, I should learn at least 10 words every day, and when I had mastered the most indispensable [words] I should immediately start talking as well as I could.<sup>17</sup>

Åkerblad made contributions to several scholarly areas and his investigations were most often triggered by linguistic difficulties. His work on Phoenician inscriptions and his early and exceptional interest in Greek ancient magic, for instance, are closely related to language issues. Another example of his intensive language learning is when Åkerblad studied Coptic with the Danish scholar Georg Zoëga, who after six months described Åkerblad's progress: "Åkerblad studies the Coptic language with fervour, and he knows more of it than me at this point."<sup>18</sup> His knowledge of Coptic was the key to his work on the Demotic part of the Rosetta inscription. In 1802, Åkerblad published the treatise on the Rosetta Stone that would bring his fame as an Orientalist.<sup>19</sup> He was one of Jean-François Champollion's predecessors in the process that led to the deciphering of the hieroglyphs in 1822. Several Coptic manuscripts in his collection (Figure 7) serve as testimony to his interest in this area. Intriguingly, they are inscribed as having belonged to the Ethiopian-Coptic church in Rome, Santo Stefano degli Abissini (situated within the walls of Vatican City) (Figure 10). Åkerblad was in Rome during the French occupation of the city in 1798–1799 and the manuscripts might have been acquired during this turbulent year, marked by both individual looting and the French occupiers' removal of more than 500 manuscripts from the Vatican Library to Paris.

It appears likely that almost all of Åkerblad's Oriental manuscripts (with the exception of the Coptic manuscripts) were acquired during his postings and travels in the Ottoman Empire in the 1780–1790s. Except for a few sparse notes, there is very little information about what happened to Åkerblad's collection after he left Constantinople for the last time in 1797. In 1798, he tried to have his collection sent to Stockholm on one of the frigates that usually visited Livorno in the fall, as Swedish warships were regularly patrolling the Mediterranean to protect Swedish merchant shipping. He justified the demand for military assistance by invoking the constant fear of piracy: "to let me embark on the frigate some chests containing books, manuscripts, antiquities, etc. that I have collected during my travels in Greece and Italy, which would be exposed to the risk of being abducted by privateers and pirates, that are more than ever plying the Mediterranean."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Löwenhielm 1923: 75.

<sup>18</sup> Georg Zoëga to Stefano Borgia, 17 Oct. 1798, Rome (Andreasen † & Ascani (eds) forthcoming: letter 769a).

<sup>19</sup> Åkerblad 1802.

<sup>20</sup> JDA to Shering Rosenhane, 5 Aug. 1798, Rome, G 231 h, UUL.

He was not successful, however, and when he left Italy for Sweden in 1799 he left at least the main parts of his collection in Livorno. A few years later, he wrote to a friend in Stockholm about it being stuck there: "Since almost three years all of my collections that I own in Italy are united in Livorno with [the Sw. consul] Mr Grabien [...] these collections that now amount to 9 heavy chests are according to what Grabien writes much damaged by moths and maybe not worth the cost of such a long transport."<sup>21</sup>

Åkerblad left Rome in the spring of 1799. There is no known image of Åkerblad, and a passport issued to him by the *Repubblica Romana* (the regime installed in Rome during the French occupation 1798–1799) in Suchtelen's collection is interesting as it describes him as a blond man of ordinary stature, with a round face, wide nose, regular mouth, and dark eyes (Figure 8). On his way to Sweden, he spent several months in northern Italy, as well as almost four months in Göttingen. Once back in Sweden, he stayed only one year and left for Paris in 1801 in order to be able to continue his work with Oriental languages. After repeated requests for employment in the Foreign Service, he was first posted at the mission in The Hague and later appointed as secretary at the mission in Paris. In 1804, he worked as *chargé d'affaires* in Paris. When Sweden broke diplomatic relations with France and he was ordered back to Sweden, he disobeyed and went instead to Italy, thus falling out of favour with the foreign administration in Stockholm. He claimed that he sold off parts of his collection when he tried to finance his return to Sweden from Italy in 1805, but maintained that Sweden's participation in the Napoleonic Wars made it impossible for him to leave Italy. In 1809, he mentioned to his friend Paul-Louis Courier that he had been reunited with his books and manuscripts which had been left in Italy in 1799, and in a letter to Jean-François Champollion in 1812 he remarked that some of his Arabic dictionaries were still in Florence.<sup>22</sup>

## TWO SALES TO SUCHTELEN

While living in Rome during the Napoleonic Wars, Åkerblad was cut off from Sweden and came into serious economical difficulties. This time we can trust his lamenting, especially as we have several testimonies that confirm the dire nature of his situation. As soon as the European borders opened up after Napoleon's defeat in 1814, Åkerblad needed to sell anything that could provide him with

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<sup>21</sup> JDÅ to Erik Bergstedt, 13 Aug. 1804, Paris, F 651 b, UUL.

<sup>22</sup> JDÅ to Paul Louis Courier, 21 June 1809, Rome (Viollet-le-Duc (ed.) 1976–1985, 2:94); JDÅ to Jean-François Champollion, 26 Feb. 1812, Rome, NAF 20357, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

money. By some manner, Åkerblad found a prospective buyer in Stockholm: Pieter Suchtelen (introduced by Olga Vasilyeva in the following article), the Russian minister in Stockholm in 1812–1836. Suchtelen was a well-known buyer of books, coins, and other artefacts in Stockholm, and the transaction was probably mediated by a friend or Åkerblad's sister. The sale is corroborated in 1815 by one of Åkerblad's friends in Rome: "Akerbland is selling all his books to survive."<sup>23</sup> Regrettably no information has yet been found on when and how the manuscripts were transported to Sweden, or on the price paid for the collection. However, Åkerblad did write a note concerning the sale that resembles an advertisement for the collection (Figure 9):

Notice des manuscrits de M.A.\*\*\*

1. Fragment fort ancien du deutéronome en lettres Samaritaines. Ce manuscrit sur parchemin fut acheté par moi-même à Jaffa en Palestine.
2. Le nouveaux Testament en grec ; manuscrit en parchemin du 13. siècle
3. deux Ms. Latins. parchemin
4. 6. manuscrits coptes. papier
5. 5. manuscrits Ethiopiens, tous en parchemin.
6. 23 ms. Arabes. La bibliothèque orientale de haggi Chalfa qui est du nombre m'a coutée 50. ducats à Constple.
7. 17. manuscrits Persans, dans quelques uns de la plus grande beauté, écrits sur papier de Samarcand. Le chah-namé contient plus de 70. miniatures.
8. 29. manuscrits Turcs.
9. 3. manuscrits Tartars, parmi lesquels un dictionnaire fort rare Tartar et Turc.<sup>24</sup>

This note is in Suchtelen's papers, who himself added: "Note, de la main de M. Åkerblad, des Manuscrits que je lui ai achetés en Janv. 1815."

Åkerblad died in Rome in February 1819. Though his economical situation had improved somewhat after the sale and the granting of a small Swedish pension, he left very few possessions. The estate inventory is extremely short and does not mention books or manuscripts. The Swedish consul in Rome, Ulisse Pentini, advised the Foreign Service on what to do with his papers:

It is however quite singular that among the papers of the said deceased [Åkerblad], except for a small part, everything else only regards correspondence with women. My opinion is that it should all be set aflame to avoid compromising peace within various families, and even the honour of the persons

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<sup>23</sup> Francesco Cancellieri to Aubin-Louis Millin, 28 Oct. 1815, Rome, fol. 317, MS FR 24680, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

<sup>24</sup> N. 2878, box 93, Suchtelen's collection of autographs, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg.

that have been imprudent enough to write, and to conserve documents of what should have been consecrated to the most rigorous silence.<sup>25</sup>

The correspondence was probably destroyed, but some other papers were taken by the consul. Pentini died the following year and his son inherited two notebooks, which were sold to the Vatican library in the 1870s. These were consequently catalogued as *Vaticani Latini 9784–5*, the second one containing the list of Åkerblad's manuscripts. Some other papers were bought in Rome by the Swedish Egyptologist Karl Piehl in the 1880s. It is a fair supposition that these papers also were taken by Pentini and, like the notebooks, subsequently turned up on the market in Rome.

Åkerblad's sister Johanna Christina was the sole inheritor in Stockholm. In the fall of 1819, she put her brother's collection of "antiquities and curiosities" up for sale. These were objects and papers that Åkerblad had brought to Stockholm before he left Sweden in 1801. She first approached the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities (Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien), of which Åkerblad had been a member. The academy was willing to pay 200 rix-dollars, adding that the offer should be made promptly so that Demoiselle Åkerblad would not sell to anyone else.

But Åkerblad's sister had also received an offer from "Mr General Baron van Suchtelen". After the earlier sale of Åkerblad's manuscripts, it was a natural strategy to also offer the collection to Suchtelen. Suchtelen's bid was higher, yet she nevertheless reserved the option to sell to the academy for the same amount if they were disposed to raise their offer. The academy did not raise its bid and Suchtelen bought the collection.<sup>26</sup> As Suchtelen had already acquired Åkerblad's Oriental manuscripts in 1815, he now bought Åkerblad's remaining objects. These probably included (no inventory has been found) inscribed stones, some small statuettes, and a number of coins.<sup>27</sup> A Greek inscription that Åkerblad acquired at the island of Imbros in the 1780s was acquired by Percy Smythe, the British ambassador in Stockholm in 1817–1819, either directly from Åkerblad's sister or from Suchtelen.<sup>28</sup> The collection also included a range of Åkerblad's personal papers, which all appear to predate the year 1800. Examples of these papers are his Ottoman and *Repubblica Romana* passports (Figures 6 & 8). This would

<sup>25</sup> Pentini to Chancery Board, 15 May 1819, Rome, no. 973, vol. 66, Skrivelser från konsuler, Huvudarkivet, UD, Kabinettet, Swedish National Archives, Stockholm.

<sup>26</sup> 20 April, 18 Aug., 13 Oct., 11 Nov. 1819, Vitterhetsakademiens protokoll 1816–20, Ämbetsarkivet 2, The Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm.

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion on Åkerblad and some of his acquaintances' collecting of ancient artefacts in the Ottoman Empire, see Thomasson 2010.

<sup>28</sup> Currently in the British Museum, Greek inscription LVIII.

suggest that Åkerblad had left them with his sister when leaving for France in 1801 (see the following article for details on these papers).

The acquisition by the Russian ambassador in two separate sales not only illustrates Suchtelen's wide interests, but also reveals something about how learned circles and the academy in Stockholm regarded Åkerblad and his collection.

## ÅKERBLAD AND RUSSIA

Åkerblad surely never met Suchtelen, but geographically they had been close to each other when they served on opposite sides in the Russo-Swedish war of 1788–1790. Åkerblad's attitudes toward Russia were mixed; two concrete examples from his correspondence and diaries are particularly illustrative. When Åkerblad travelled from Palestine to Egypt in 1787, he explained why he could not find a ship: "Having returned to Jaffa I was forced to wait there 14 days before I could find a small boat to Damietta. Russian cruisers have made these waters so dangerous that the Arabs do not dare to go out."<sup>29</sup> Åkerblad had observed the diplomatic machinations in Constantinople, where European powers fought for influence at the Porte, and it was not surprising that war was the result, considering that Sweden itself had kindled Turkish animosity toward Russia. Now he witnessed the effects of the Russo-Turkish War of 1787–1792. A couple of years later, while in Tunis, Åkerblad received the news about the Russo-Swedish War of 1788–1790. He wrote to Stockholm, making his sympathies clear:

A word from king Gustaf and I will fly with the sabre in one hand and the Alcoran in the other to preach a crusade in — — — against the barbarians that provoked discord in the North and who threaten to crush my best friends — — — the Turks.<sup>30</sup>

These "barbarians" were, of course, the Russians. It is entertaining to imagine Åkerblad – later caricatured by Caroline von Humboldt as the "grosse, dicke Åkerblad" – flying like Mohammed with a sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, fighting the Russians together with the Turks.<sup>31</sup> Once back in Sweden in the summer of 1789, he was sent to the front in Finland. He served as interpreter in the war and personally experienced the consequences of the ill-advised Swedish attack on Russia. One of his duties was to interrogate Turkic-speaking prisoners of war. These included both Russian officers and Turkish prisoners

<sup>29</sup> JDÅ to Gjörwell, Marseille 1 March 1789, Ep G 7:13, no. 5, KB.

<sup>30</sup> JDÅ to Gjörwell, Marseille 1 March 1789, Ep G 7:13, no. 5, KB. Åkerblad himself used the dashes to indicate words not written out.

<sup>31</sup> Sander-Rindtorff (ed.) 1936: 290.

of war that had been taken by Russian forces in the Black Sea and moved to the Baltic to fight against Sweden. There was, for instance, a Tatar captain – “a good Muslim”, as Åkerblad put it – who had been captured by the Swedish forces. Åkerblad had been instructed by the king to keep the Russian officers’ company and report what they might know. He forwarded information from “his Turks” about a new Ottoman ambassador who had just arrived in Moscow, as well as the consequences of his arrival on Russian politics. Åkerblad was possibly the only Swede who spoke Turkish at this time and his services were needed throughout the war, both in Stockholm and in Finland. During the winter, the war was put on hold. But in the spring of 1790, his services were again in demand: “when the sea campaign starts one foresees that Turkish prisoners of war in the Russian navy must be dealt with, and then the Royal Secretary Åkerblad can probably not avoid being commanded here to Finland as Turkish interpreter”.<sup>32</sup>

But politics were one thing and personal relations another. While living in Rome in 1809–1819, for instance, Åkerblad was a close friend to Andrey Yakovlevich Italinsky (1743–1827), the Russian minister in Rome. Italinsky had been the Russian representative in Constantinople in 1803–1806 and 1812–1816, where he became interested in Oriental languages and history and learned Arabic. In a dissertation dedicated to Italinsky, Åkerblad wrote that they had met before Italinsky was posted as Russian representative in Constantinople, probably already in Italy or France in the 1790s. Åkerblad refers to Italinsky as his “respectable Plato”, and the treatise that Åkerblad dedicated to him was on a Phoenician inscription, befitting Italinsky’s longstanding interest in Oriental literature. Italinsky had also managed to acquire an important collection of Oriental manuscripts, as Olga Vasilyeva mentions, and Åkerblad worked with these. He also gained the confidence of Grand Duke Michael Pavlovich, probably through Italinsky’s intermediation. Åkerblad had promised to be the grand duke’s guide in Rome, but died before the Russian party arrived in Rome in 1819.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> JDÅ to Ulric Franc Gustaf, Kymmenegård 21 Aug. 1789, Kabinettet, UD, Huvudarkivet, E 1 A, Inkomna skrivelser (Skr till Franc), vol. 26, Swedish National Archives, Stockholm; Åkerblad to Johan Albrekt Ehrenström, Finland 10 Sept. 1789, X 241 UUL; Ehrenström to Franc, Borgå [Finland] 20 April 1790, vol. 24, Inkomna skrivelser (Skr till Franc), Kabinettet, UD, Huvudarkivet, E 1 A, Swedish National Archives, Stockholm.

<sup>33</sup> Åkerblad 1817; JDÅ to Gustaf Löwenhielm, 15 Aug. 1817, Rome, Ep L 24, KB; Åkerblad’s annotations in Italinsky’s papers (Buonocore 1988: 66); *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, suppl. t. 56, 1834: 118.

In 1819, Sweden's former place on the European stage was diminished. It lost Finland to Russia in 1809 and its remaining German provinces at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Russia fought several wars against the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century and continued its expansion southwards. It might appear as an ironic twist that Åkerblad's collection of Oriental manuscripts, as well as parts of his personal papers, ended up in Russia after Suchtelen's death. As the Russian Empire grew, new scholarly areas were institutionalised, and as Olga Vasilyeva outlines, Åkerblad's manuscripts became sought after by several of the newly founded institutions dedicated to Oriental studies. This new Russian scholarship also greatly influenced the Orientalist tradition in Finland, as Kaj Öhrnberg has evocatively pointed out in the introductory volume of Georg August Wallin's works.

The purchase by Suchtelen of Åkerblad's collection and its transfer to Russia represents an interesting moment in the creation of Orientalist traditions in Northern Europe. It is also a striking metaphor for some of the most important political developments during Åkerblad's life: the waning of Swedish power and rising Russian expansionism.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS TO THOMASSON'S AND VASILYEVA'S ARTICLES



Figure 1 Miniature from Firdausi's *Shahnama*: The Shah enthroned.  
Fol. 2r, C-822, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy  
of Sciences, St Petersburg.



Figure 2 Miniature from Firdausi's *Shahnama*: Muhammad and his people in a sailing boat. Fol. 11r, C-822, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg.



Figure 3 Miniature from Firdausi's *Shahnama*: Camp of Isfandiyar. Fol. 285r, C-822, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg.

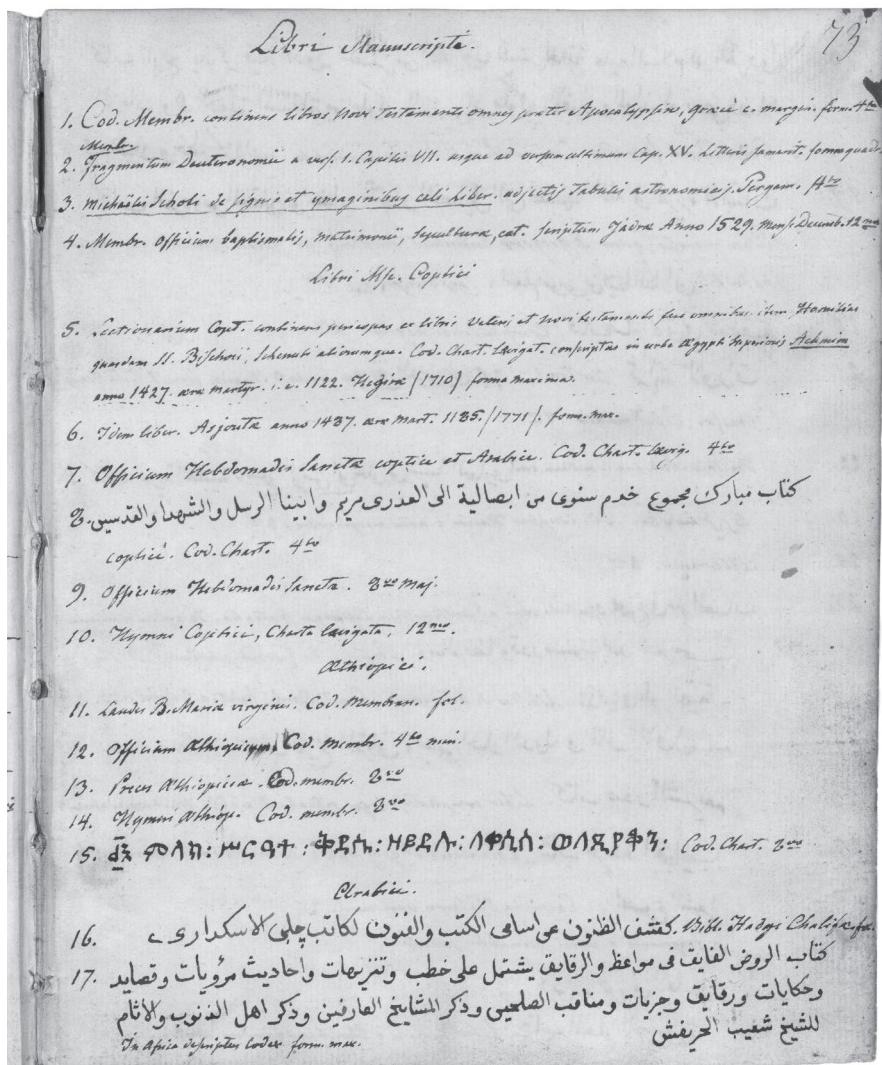


Figure 4 The first page of Åkerblad's list of oriental mss. Fol. 73r, Vatican Latini 9785.  
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

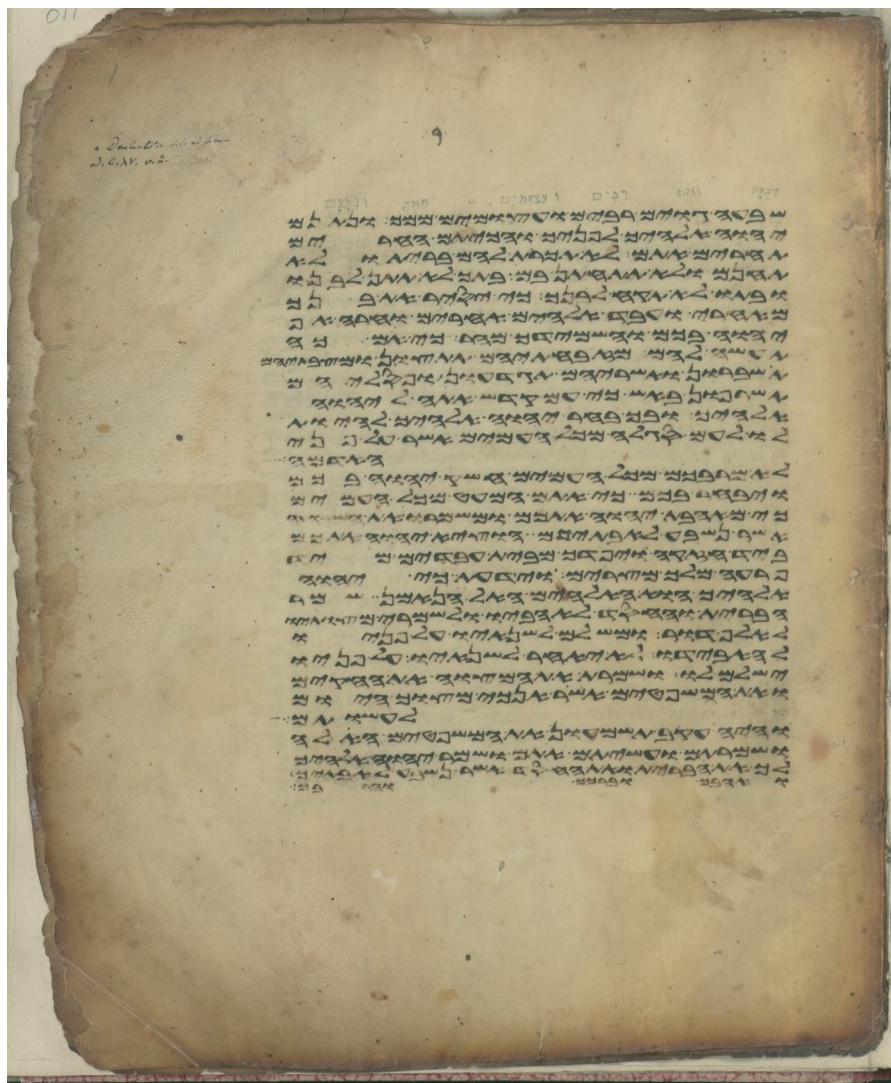
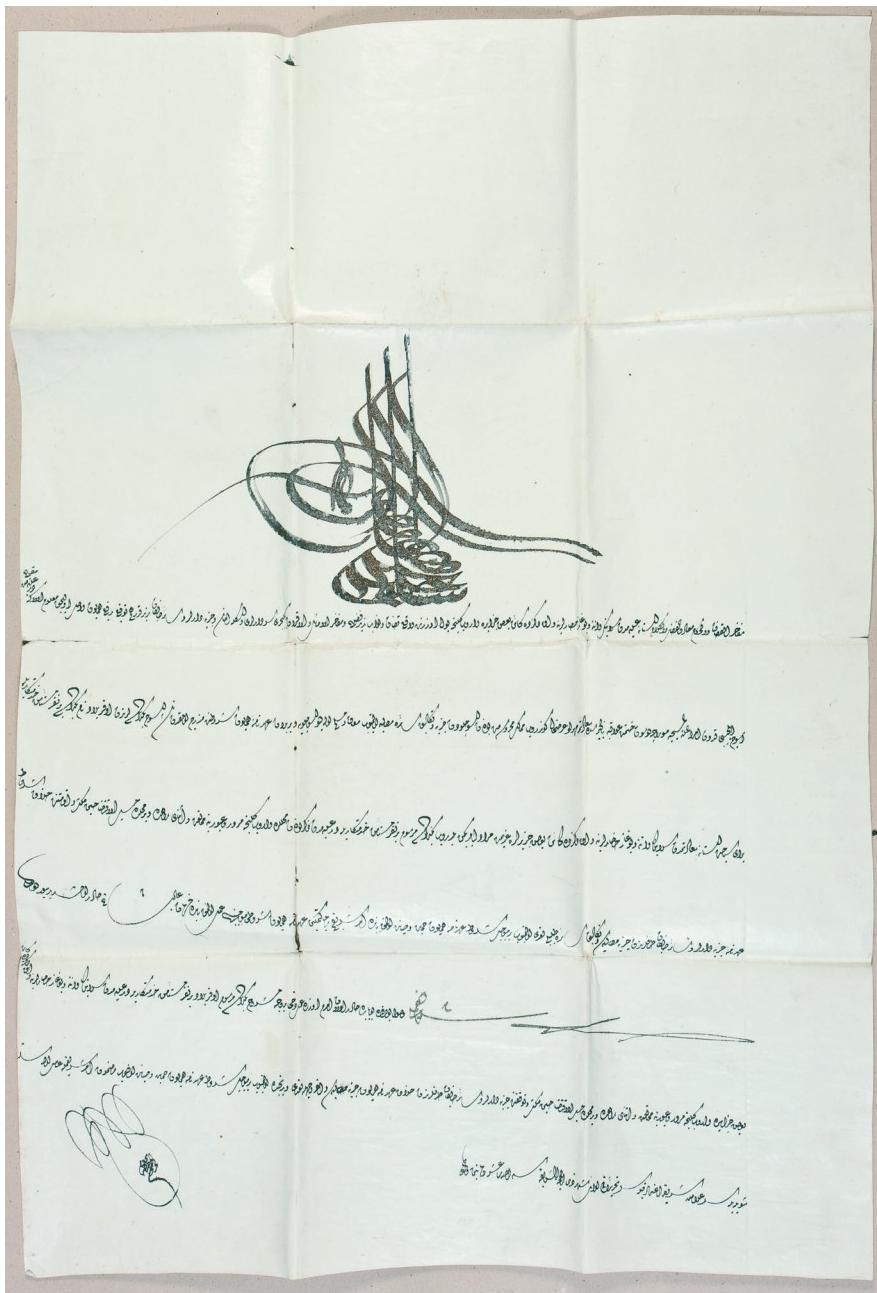


Figure 5 The first page of the Samaritan Deuteronomy fragment Åkerblad bought in Jaffa 1788. Fol. 1r., Sam. 32, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg.



*Figure 6 Passport issued by the Porte in May 1796 that granted Åkerblad travel to Salonica and the islands of the archipelago. Dorn 543/50, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg.*



Figure 7 Service of the  
Holy Week. Coptic.  
Fols 1v–2r, D-229,  
Institute of Oriental  
Manuscripts, Russian  
Academy of Sciences,  
St Petersburg.



*Figure 8 Passport issued to Åkerblad by the Repubblica Romana (the regime installed in Rome during the French occupation 1798–1799) dated in the French republican calendar: “11 fiorile Anno 7. della Republica” [30 April 1799]. No. 2877, box 93, Suchtelen’s collection of autographs, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg.*

Notice des manuscrits de M. Åkerblad

1. Fragment fort ancien du deuxième nom en lettres Samaritaines.  
sur parchemin  
ce manuscrit fut acheté par moi-même à Jaffa en Palestine.
2. le nouveau Testament en grec; manuscrit en parchemin du 13. siècle
3. deux Ms. latins. parchemin
4. 6. manuscrits coptes. proprie
5. 5. manuscrits Ethiopiens, tous en parchemin.
6. 23. ms. Arabes. La bibliothèque orientale de Jaffa qui a le plus  
nombre n'a contient 50. livres à l'ensemble.
7. 17. manuscrits Persans, dont quelques uns de la plus grande beauté, écrits sur  
papier de Samarcand. Le Shah-Nami contient plus de 70. miniatures.
8. 27. manuscrits Turcs.
9. 3. manuscrits Tartars, parmi lesquels un dictionnaire fort rare Tartar et Tare.

N° 2878

13

Note, de la main de M. Åkerblad, des Manuscrits que je lui ai achetés en Janv. 1815.

*Figure 9* The “sales” note in Åkerblad’s handwriting describing his collection with Suchtelen’s additional comment: “Note, de la main de M. Åkerblad, des Manuscrits que je lui ai achetés en Janv. 1815.” No. 2878, box 93, Suchtelen’s collection of autographs, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg.



*Figure 10* Abba Georgius, Organon. Ethiopic. Fols 02v–1r, Eth. 23, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg.

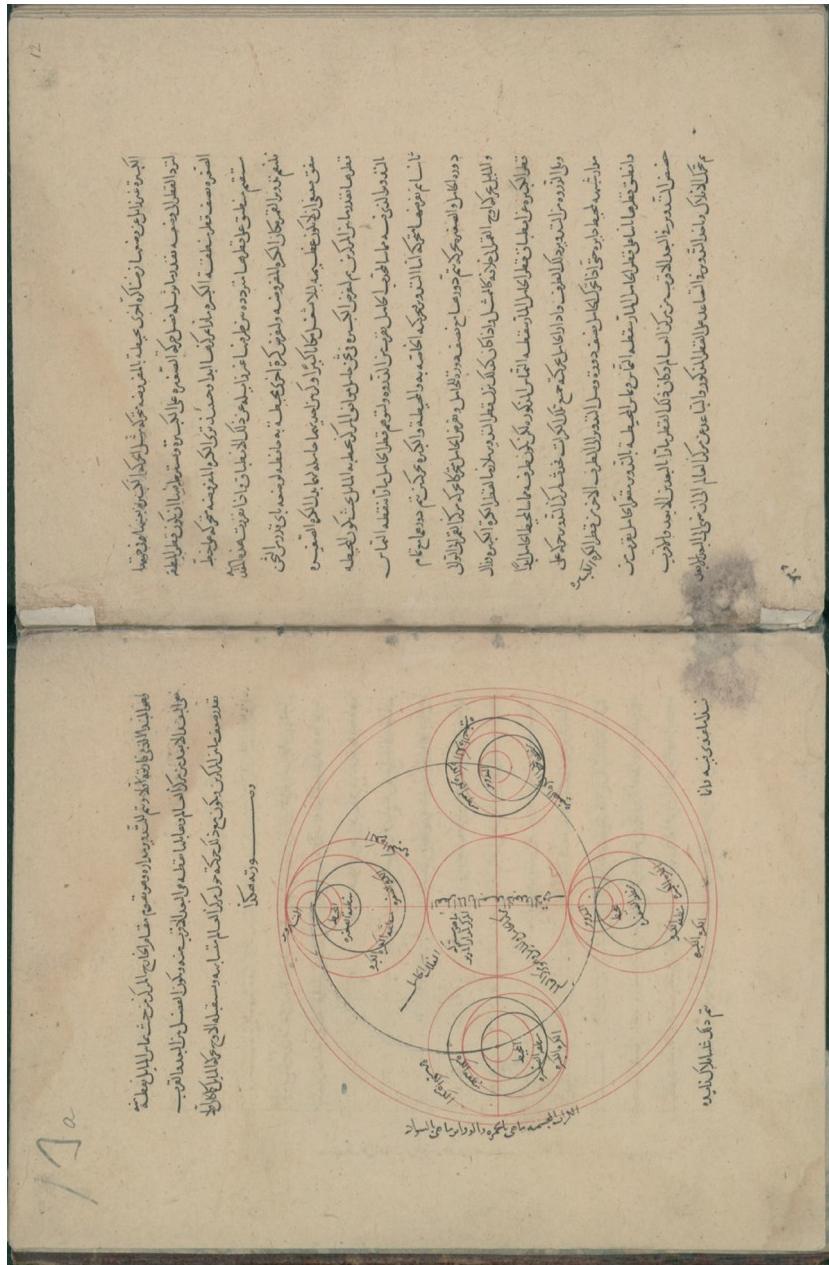


Figure 11 Al-Tusi al-Tazkara fi 'ilm al-hayat. From the collection of Arabic astronomical treatises. 673/1275. Fols 12v–13r, A-437, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg.

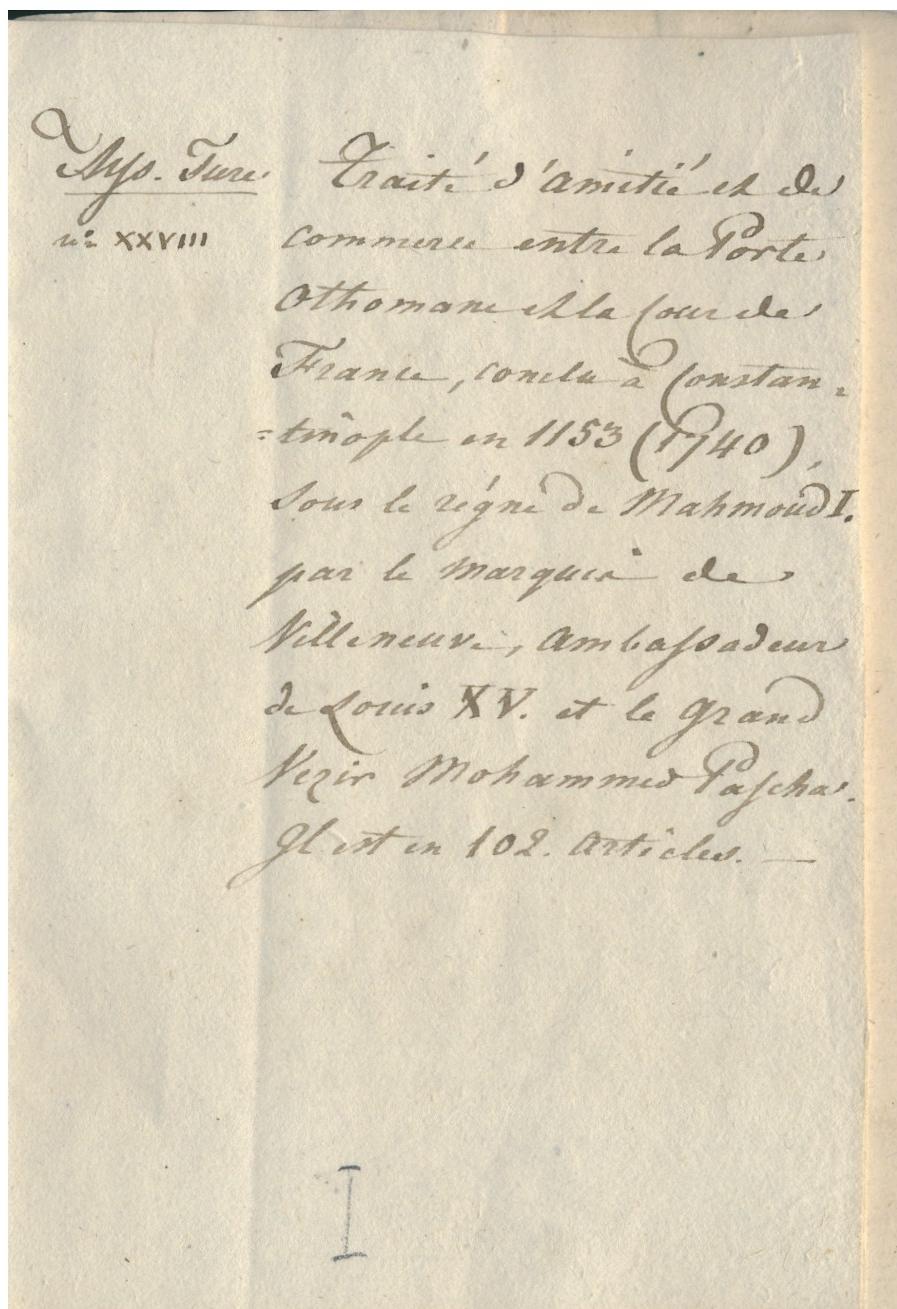


Figure 12 Annotation in French to the Treaty between the Sublime Porte and France. 1153/1740. Fol. I. Dorn 540, National Library of Russia, St Petersburg.



*Figure 13* Ex-libris of Pieter Suchtelen.



# ÅKERBLAD'S COLLECTION IN SUCHTELEN'S ORIENTALIA: FROM SWEDEN TO RUSSIA

Olga V. Vasilyeva

*National Library of Russia*

Although capable of terrifying people with the vastness of his learning, he [Suchtelen] was modest and never overbearing. His passion for learning was like a quiet but inextinguishable fervor [...] and he was ready to share his expertise with anyone who worshipped the light of knowledge [...] Equally knowledgeable in mathematics, in every area of literature, and philosophy, he was a reliable and skillful judge of arts.

— A memoirist about Pieter Suchtelen<sup>1</sup>

## RUSSIAN GENERAL PIETER SUCHTELEN, DIPLOMAT, AND BIBLIOPHILE

Jan Pieter van Suchtelen was born on 2 August 1751 in Grave, Netherlands.<sup>2</sup> He finished Latin school in Groningen, and he received his technical training from his uncle and his father, a military engineer. In 1768, Jan Pieter entered the Dutch army, and in 1783 he moved to Russia where he became known as Piotr Kornilyevich Suchtelen. His military engineering career was very successful; he rose from lieutenant colonel to engineer general in 16 years.

Suchtelen took part in several Russian campaigns, including two Russo-Swedish wars: the war of 1788–1790<sup>3</sup> and the war of 1808–1809, when he led the assault that forced Swedish forces to surrender the Sveaborg fortress in the harbor of present-day Helsinki without a single shot being fired.<sup>4</sup>

His diplomatic abilities in these negotiations were probably one of the reasons why Tsar Alexander I sent Suchtelen to Stockholm with a “special mission”, first

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<sup>1</sup> Vigel 1892: 43.

<sup>2</sup> See details in Lankhorst 2002: 24–36.

<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, at the same time Johan David Åkerblad served in the Swedish army as military interpreter in Finland. See the previous article.

<sup>4</sup> Suchtelen's portrait was painted by George Dawe for the gallery of the heroes of the War of 1812 in the Winter Palace (the State Hermitage Museum). A copy of this portrait is kept in the Manuscript Department of the National Library of Russia.

in 1809 and later in 1812, the same year he was made baron. Although Suchtelen was on good terms with Crown Prince Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte,<sup>5</sup> many Swedes were insulted by the appointment as ambassador of a Russian general who had fought against Sweden. Nevertheless, being a person of great knowledge and benevolence, Suchtelen soon gained the confidence of many Swedes and always kept his doors open to intellectuals and the aristocracy. Suchtelen remained stationed in Stockholm until his death in 1836.<sup>6</sup>

Over the course of his life, Suchtelen (who had eight children, of whom three died in childhood) spent large parts of his wealth acquiring books, manuscripts, prints, maps, art, and coins. After the death of this passionate bibliophile, his vast library was bought by the Russian government for 500,000 rubles and immediately distributed between several institutions by the “highest order” of Nicolas I.<sup>7</sup> Thus, books on mathematics, military sciences, history, geography, and travel (approximately 13,000 volumes) went to the library of the General Staff; the collection of maps was transferred to the Military-Topographical Depository; books on, for example, theology, law, philosophy, natural history, medicine, and literature (more than 2,000 items) were housed in the Imperial Public Library (to which manuscripts were also planned to be transferred, with the exclusion of Oriental ones); works on architecture were intended for the Engineering library; works on arts made their way to the Academy of the Arts; books with special illustrations (521 items) were destined for the Hermitage; and finally the collection of academic dissertations (30,000 items) was sent to the Helsinki University Library.<sup>8</sup> Many books were later moved and sometimes sold or exchanged, being duplicates. Suchtelen’s art collection (paintings, drawings, and engravings by Dutch and Flemish masters of the 17th century) were sold by his heirs between 1840–1870 and is now spread between collections in Russia and abroad.

### SUCHTELEN’S ORIENTALIA: WHERE AND HOW MANY

The collection of Western European manuscripts (268 items) and autographs (about 15,000 items) are now kept in the National Library of Russia (St Petersburg), while the Oriental manuscript collection was destined to be

<sup>5</sup> Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte (1763–1844), marshal of Napoleon I, was named in 1810 as a crown prince of Sweden, and he reigned in 1818–1844 as King Karl XIV Johan.

<sup>6</sup> On Suchtelen’s wide contacts in Stockholm and on his library, see Panchenko 2006. Peter Suchtelen was buried in Stockholm beside his brother Rochus (1756–1819), who immigrated to Russia in 1795. From 1806 until 1816, Rochus worked in the Imperial Public Library as a curator of early printed books, after which he moved to Stockholm to live with his brother.

<sup>7</sup> See details in Sapožnikov 2002: 5–23.

<sup>8</sup> Havu 2002: 55–56.

divided between two institutions.<sup>9</sup> *The Register on the allocation of the former Suchtelen library* details what was transferred from the General Staff:

- VI. To the Oriental Institute under the Asiatic Department [of the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs] 95 Oriental manuscripts;
- VII. To the Asiatic Museum under the Academy of Sciences 35 Oriental manuscripts.<sup>10</sup>

The Acad. Christian Fraehn who was the head of the Asiatic Museum could not hide his disappointment when surveying the list of these 35 manuscripts, and he wrote in his report concerning the valuation of the books that among them:

more than a dozen prayer books and similar things; two Qurans and one fragment, four unimportant collections of words and grammars; three other works without any value and also uncertain. Thus, only a dozen manuscripts are left, which promise a certain interest but are not especially amusing from a scientific viewpoint because none of the works of historical, geographical, and literary contents [...] went to us.

After such sharp words, it was decided to send this part of the collection to Kazan University. Fraehn wrote another letter and expressed his wish to retain “for the Asiatic Museum [...] 4 Turkish-Persian, 4 Armenian, 3 Coptic, and 1 Samaritan manuscripts, as these 12 works could be of more profit in Saint Petersburg than in Kazan, and for the other 23 [...] to be sent to Kazan University”. Thus, the Academy was “highly” allowed to leave 12 works in the Asiatic Museum, while the rest were transferred to Kazan in 1837.

Only two manuscripts are now kept in Kazan University. In 1842 one Arabic book was lost during a fire, and in 1855 twenty books (along with the Oriental library) were transferred to St Petersburg University, where they were added to the library of the Oriental faculty, where 18 of them remain.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the 95 handwritten books from Suchtelen's Orientalia that entered the Oriental Institute of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be identified in the series of printed catalogues of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1919, the collections of the Institute were transferred to the Asiatic Museum; as a result the manuscripts received new shelf-numbers. In the modern catalogues

<sup>9</sup> We limit ourselves to deal with manuscripts, block-prints, and lithographs which could be recognized in the manuscript depositories. Suchtelen, of course, also owned printed books in Oriental languages, commentaries, studies, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Panchenko 2006: 7. As the Russian institutions mentioned here changed names – some of them more than once – a list is provided at the end of the article. Please also see Appendix 1 for a schema of the distribution of Suchtelen's Orientalia.

<sup>11</sup> Vasilyeva 2011: 17–19.

and inventory lists of the Museum (now IOM), we could find 94 of Suchtelen's manuscripts, including 12 that entered the Museum in 1836 and 82 that came from the former Oriental Institute. Meanwhile, a handwritten "Brief catalogue of the Oriental manuscripts from the former library of Engineer-General count Suchtelen which are to enter the Asiatic Museum [...] and partly the Oriental Institute",<sup>12</sup> composed in 1836 by the head of the Oriental institute Fedor Adelung, includes also one Sanskrit item and five Islamic manuscripts which could not be identified. Elsewhere, from another archival document, we know that seven handwritten works by Western European Orientalists were also included in the total number of 95 manuscripts.<sup>13</sup> Where they are now is unknown, however.

When composing his brief catalogue, Adelung primarily relied on the manuscripts' Latin titles, stamped with gold on the leather spines of possessory bindings or cardboard cases, as well as French annotations on paper leaves that were inserted in many Islamic books (Figure 12).<sup>14</sup> Some of these annotations have numbers (for example, "Mss arabe n. XI, MSS Pers. N. XIII", etc.).<sup>15</sup> Most of the manuscripts also bear signs of having belonged to Suchtelen, such as his engraved ex-libris (Figure 13) and/or the stamp *Bibliotheca Suchtelen*.

Using these features and other pieces of information, we could also identify 33 Oriental items that were transferred in 1836–1837 to the Imperial Public Library (today the National Library of Russia): namely, Arabic and Turkish codices and documents, Armenian, Georgian, and Persian letters, Chinese handwritten books, and block- and litho-prints. In 1872, an album of Indian miniatures was acquired; in 1923, a Georgian manuscript was transferred from the Library to Tbilisi; in 1974, a manuscript of Psalms in Yiddish with Suchtelen's ex-libris was received with the collection of the Acad. Ignaty Yu. Krachkovsky.<sup>16</sup> At present, the NLR houses 34 Oriental items from Suchtelen's collection.

Thus, we may state that Suchtelen's Orientalia included no less than 163 items of both handwritten books and documents, of which 149 have been identified. These currently belong to five institutions: the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (94), the National Library of Russia (34), the Library of the Oriental Faculty of Saint Petersburg State University (18),<sup>17</sup> the Nikolay Lobachevsky Scientific

<sup>12</sup> RSMHA. Fund 38, inv. 5, no. 215, fols 110a–110s.

<sup>13</sup> RSMHA. Fund 38, inv. 5, no. 215, fol. 123.

<sup>14</sup> Please note that all figures for this and the previous contribution are to be found in the plates insert between the two articles.

<sup>15</sup> Vasilyeva forthcoming.

<sup>16</sup> In his note, Krachkovsky wrote that the book was brought to him by "Val'skaya from the Geographical society [...] in 1942", during the Leningrad blockade.

<sup>17</sup> These first three are all located in St Petersburg.

Library of Kazan University (2), and the National Center of Manuscripts in Tbilisi, Georgia (1) (Appendix 1).

## THE SOURCES OF SUCHTELEN'S ORIENTALIA

We do not know when Suchtelen first began paying attention to Oriental artifacts. However, the album of Indian miniatures composed in 1695 by Georg Eduard Ploos von Amstel<sup>18</sup> could have already been acquired by him in the Netherlands before he moved to Russia.

The Chinese-Catholic block-print *True doctrine* has inscriptions in Spanish and Swedish, including the following: "Becommen från Paris d: 31. Majis 1782. Joh. E. Ringström".<sup>19</sup> The same person also wrote an inscription dated 24 January 1789 in Stockholm on the flyleaf of the first volume of a Chinese explanatory dictionary.<sup>20</sup> A Chinese translation of the New Testament which was given by Prince Hesse Philippstadt to Suchtelen is inscribed: "Stockholm October 24, 1822".<sup>21</sup> The same person owned the diary of Matthias Norberg in Swedish and Arabic,<sup>22</sup> which has an annotation signed by P.F. Auriwillius on 21 June 1824, Uppsala.<sup>23</sup> These items were evidently purchased by Suchtelen in Sweden, as well as "un Coran avec ornements en or [...] écrit d'une belle main. 1 v. fol." and "manuscrit arabe. 1 v. in 4° (vie du Prophète?)", which are mentioned in Suchtelen's list of "Principales acquisitions faites en Suède en 1810 et 1811".<sup>24</sup>

Some manuscripts in Suchtelen's Orientalia were acquired by his eldest son, General Paul Suchtelen (1788–1833), who took part in the Russo-Iranian war of 1827–1829 and at that time collected several Persian, Armenian, and Georgian handwritten books and letters.

The bulk of Suchtelen's Orientalia, however, is the collection of the Swedish Orientalist and diplomat, Johan David Åkerblad (introduced in the previous article). Åkerblad also collected stones with epigraphic inscriptions, coins, and other artifacts, and some of these objects were also bought in the second sale to Suchtelen discussed in the previous contribution. As a matter of fact, in 1822 (the year when Suchtelen was made a count) he presented the Asiatic Museum

<sup>18</sup> NLR, Ind. n.s. 5.

<sup>19</sup> NLR, Dorn 713. Shelf-number according to Dorn 1852.

<sup>20</sup> NLR, Dorn 834/1.

<sup>21</sup> NLR, Dorn 694.

<sup>22</sup> Matthias Norberg (1747–1826), Swedish orientalist, professor of Oriental Languages and Greek at Uppsala University.

<sup>23</sup> SPBU, 1238. Pehr Fabian Aurivillius (1756–1829), librarian and professor of Literature at Uppsala University, and son of Åkerblad's language teacher.

<sup>24</sup> National Library of Sweden, Stockholm. MS U 354, f. 11.

in St Petersburg with 65 Oriental coins which may have come from Åkerblad's collection.<sup>25</sup> According to Åkerblad's list of manuscripts, he also owned 24 Oriental printed books. While all the manuscripts were acquired by Suchtelen, so far we have no trace of the printed books.

### ÅKERBLAD'S COLLECTION IN SUCHTELEN'S LIBRARY

Among the autographs collected by Suchtelen, there are several papers in Åkerblad's hand or connected to him. The most interesting in this context is the "Notice des manuscrits de M.A."<sup>26</sup> quoted in the previous article (Figure 9). This note proves that in 1815 Suchtelen purchased all 86 manuscripts described by Åkerblad in his Vatican Library notebook (Figure 4).<sup>27</sup>

We will here attempt to answer how many of these survived and where they are now. While we cannot answer these questions definitively – first, because Suchtelen's Orientalia are not yet fully reconstructed and, second, because Åkerblad's descriptions of his manuscripts are not always precise enough to let us identify his manuscripts with the ones found in Russian collections – we can be absolutely sure concerning the manuscripts that Åkerblad inscribed.

Three Persian manuscripts now in the IOM bear the inscription "Åkerblad. Constple". Two of these are dated 1792: these are a "Shah-name" by Firdausi (Figures 1, 2, 3)<sup>28</sup> and a "Baharistan" by Djami.<sup>29</sup> The third is dated 1793: it is a collection of treatises on prosody.<sup>30</sup> In addition to these, a small Turkish prayer book which was stolen from the Library of the Oriental faculty of SPBU in the twentieth century belonged to Åkerblad. It is described in the printed catalogue as "Prayers of sidi Muhammad b. Isa. 2 Rabi II 1202/Dec. 1787. Magribi. 39 f. in 16° (came from the scientist Akerblad to Suchtelen, and from him to the Library)."<sup>31</sup> Finally, Åkerblad inscribed the fragment of the Samaritan Deuteronomy that he bought in 1788 in Jaffa (Figure 5).<sup>32</sup> These five manuscripts correspond to Åkerblad's numbers 2, 38, 39, 54, and 55 (see Appendix 2).

Among the 86 manuscripts listed by Åkerblad (including no. 59\*), there are three non-Oriental parchment manuscripts. One of these, a Greek New Testament

<sup>25</sup> IOM. Archive of Orientalists. Fund 152, inventory 2, 1822, nos 70–71.

<sup>26</sup> NLR. Suchtelen's collection of autographs, box 93, no. 2878.

<sup>27</sup> I am extremely thankful to Fredrik Thomasson who discovered this document and who kindly allowed me to study it.

<sup>28</sup> IOM, C-822.

<sup>29</sup> IOM, A-473.

<sup>30</sup> IOM, A-483.

<sup>31</sup> Gotwald 1855, no. 30.

<sup>32</sup> IOM, Sam. 32.

(with Suchtelen's ex-libris) can be found in the catalogue of Birmingham's Selly Oak colleges.<sup>33</sup> Another one is an illustrated copy (mid.-14th century, Italy) of the Latin astronomical treatise by Michaëlis Schoti, which entered the Imperial Public Library with the Western European part of Suchtelen's collection (NLR Lat. F.v. IX. N. 1).<sup>34</sup> The third of these parchment manuscripts, the "Officium baptismatis, matrimonii, sepulturae, cat. scriptum Jadrae Anno 1529", has yet not been found.

Five out of six Coptic-Arabic manuscripts have been identified. Along with five Ethiopian manuscripts, they are kept in the IOM. All of these, as well as one Arabic Christian book,<sup>35</sup> bear the record of the Uniate Coptic-Ethiopian church of Santo Stefano in the Vatican (Figures 7, 10).

No fewer than 21 of 23 Arabic manuscripts have been identified in three institutions: in the IOM (15), in the NLR (3), and in SPBU (3, of which one is lost).

All of Åkerblad's 18 Persian manuscripts (also taking into account another manuscript listed among the Turkish manuscripts as no. 66) have been identified: one is located in the SPBU and the others are in the IOM.

The list "Libri Turcici", together with the "Appendix", contains 28 Turkish manuscripts (including no. 59\* and excluding one Persian ms no. 66): 21 entered the IOM, four are in the SPBU, and one is in the NLR. The remaining two items have not been identified.

All three "Tatarici" items are Old Uzbek (Turkic) manuscripts preserved in the IOM.

Thus, it has been possible to identify – albeit with some remaining questions concerning attributions – 79 Oriental and two non-Oriental manuscripts from Åkerblad's list. Most of these are in the IOM (68). There are eight items in SPBU, while in the NLR four Oriental codices are preserved (as well as a Latin one). Four Oriental manuscripts and one Latin manuscript are still unidentified.

## THE VALUE OF ÅKERBLAD'S COLLECTION

Just by looking at the list of Åkerblad's collection, one can see that the Orientalist and diplomat had wide interests in, for example, history, literature (poetry and prose), philology, logic, astronomy, geography, mathematics, and less in Islamic theology. The largest part of his collection consists of manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages, all purchased in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in the Ottoman Empire (generally in Istanbul) where Åkerblad lived,

<sup>33</sup> Mingana Greek 3, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham. Hunt, no. 87. We are thankful to Valery Polosin for this information.

<sup>34</sup> Bleskina 2011: 168, N. 416, pp. 416–418 ills; de Labord 1936: no. 56. pp. 56–57.

<sup>35</sup> SPBU, 113.

studied, worked, and traveled. The Christian (Coptic-Arabic, Ethiopian, and one Arabic) manuscripts were acquired in Rome, when he had left his diplomatic position and devoted himself to philological studies.

Among the manuscripts are old books, beginning with the collection of Arabic astronomical treatises, including one by Nasir al-Din al-Tusi dated to 673/1275 (Figure 11).<sup>36</sup> This is the earliest surviving work of the famous author, and it was copied one year after his death. Additionally, there are three dated manuscripts from the fifteenth century and ten from the sixteenth century.

From an artistic point of view, the illustrated Persian manuscript is of most interest. Dating from the mid-fifteenth century, this copy of *Shahnama* by Firdausi is decorated with a double frontispiece and 74 miniatures, which were possibly added somewhat later (Figures 1, 2, 3).<sup>37</sup>

It is clear that Åkerblad's aim was not to gather fine books, but a wider assortment of historical, literary, and scientific materials – preferably old – for his own Oriental studies. His collection represents a good example of a European Orientalist's library of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### “LES PAPIERS D’AKERBLAD”

In addition to handwritten Oriental books from Åkerblad's collection, there are found in the NLR five documents in Turkish. Written on the backs of two of these are “trouvé dans les papiers d'Akerblad”<sup>38</sup> and “des papiers de M. Akerblad”.<sup>39</sup> The other three are inscribed as “Firman pour M. d'Akerblad” (i.e. passports with the Sultan's *tugra* for traveling in the Ottoman Empire)<sup>40</sup> (Figure 6).

One of these *firmans* (dated 1785)<sup>41</sup> corresponds with the passport in French issued by Gerhard Johan von Heidenstam, Swedish minister in Constantinople, for Åkerblad's trip to the Levant.<sup>42</sup> This passport and a similar one (1788), as well as a few other documents in European languages that belonged to Åkerblad, are preserved in Suchtelen's collection of autographs. Among these may also be mentioned the passport (cited in the previous article) issued to Åkerblad by the *Repubblica Romana* in 1799 (Figure 8).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>36</sup> IOM, A-437.

<sup>37</sup> IOM, C-822; Petrosyan 1995: 186–191.

<sup>38</sup> NLR, Dorn 543/46, letter by Aly from Tripoli to the Swedish envoy, 1779.

<sup>39</sup> NLR, Dorn 543/48, letter of the Swedish consul Daniel Hochpied [?] to al-hadj Husain-aga of Bursa, 1781.

<sup>40</sup> NLR, Dorn 543/47, 49, 50.

<sup>41</sup> NLR, Dorn 543/49.

<sup>42</sup> NLR, Sucht. aut. box 83, N. 21391.

<sup>43</sup> NLR, Sucht. aut. box 93, N. 2877.

Unfortunately, the “papiers de M. Åkerblad” were divided first by Suchtelen himself and subsequently by librarians, corresponding to the language of the documents. It is thus impossible to say how many of Åkerblad’s papers were sold to Suchtelen. As described in the previous article, these papers were certainly acquired by Suchtelen after Åkerblad’s death in 1819.

## CONCLUSION

Orientalism – and Middle Eastern studies, in particular – was imported to Russia from Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first professors were Germans, and the first manuscript collections came from France. In 1805, the collection of Peter Dubrovsky, the secretary of the Russian embassy in Paris, was acquired for *Depôt des manuscrits* of the Imperial Public Library, which had not yet opened. His Orientalia included 156 Middle Eastern and Far Eastern items (similar to Suchtelen’s Orientalia). In 1818, the Asiatic Museum was founded in St Petersburg and two collections of the French diplomat J.-L. Rousseau (all in all 700 items) were bought and brought there. In 1823, the Oriental Institute (under the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) was organized, for which the collection of Andrey Ya. Italinsky, the Russian ambassador in Naples, Istanbul, and Rome, was purchased in 1828. Incidentally, Åkerblad and Italinsky were friends, as mentioned in the previous contribution. Italinsky appears to have been the first Russian diplomat who himself collected manuscripts in the Middle East.

Thus, when Suchtelen’s library reached Russia in 1836, St Petersburg had three depositories which collected Oriental manuscripts, and each received a part of Suchtelen’s collection. Intriguingly, the manuscripts which had been sent to Kazan returned to St Petersburg but to a fourth institution – the Oriental Faculty of the University – where manuscripts also had begun to be gathered. The collection of Åkerblad joined the fate of Suchtelen’s entire Orientalia. However, the reconstruction of the collection of the Swedish Orientalist allows us to recognize his professional knowledge and interests, as well as to appreciate the value of the manuscripts collected by Johan David Åkerblad that reached us by means of Peter Suchtelen.

## ABBREVIATIONS

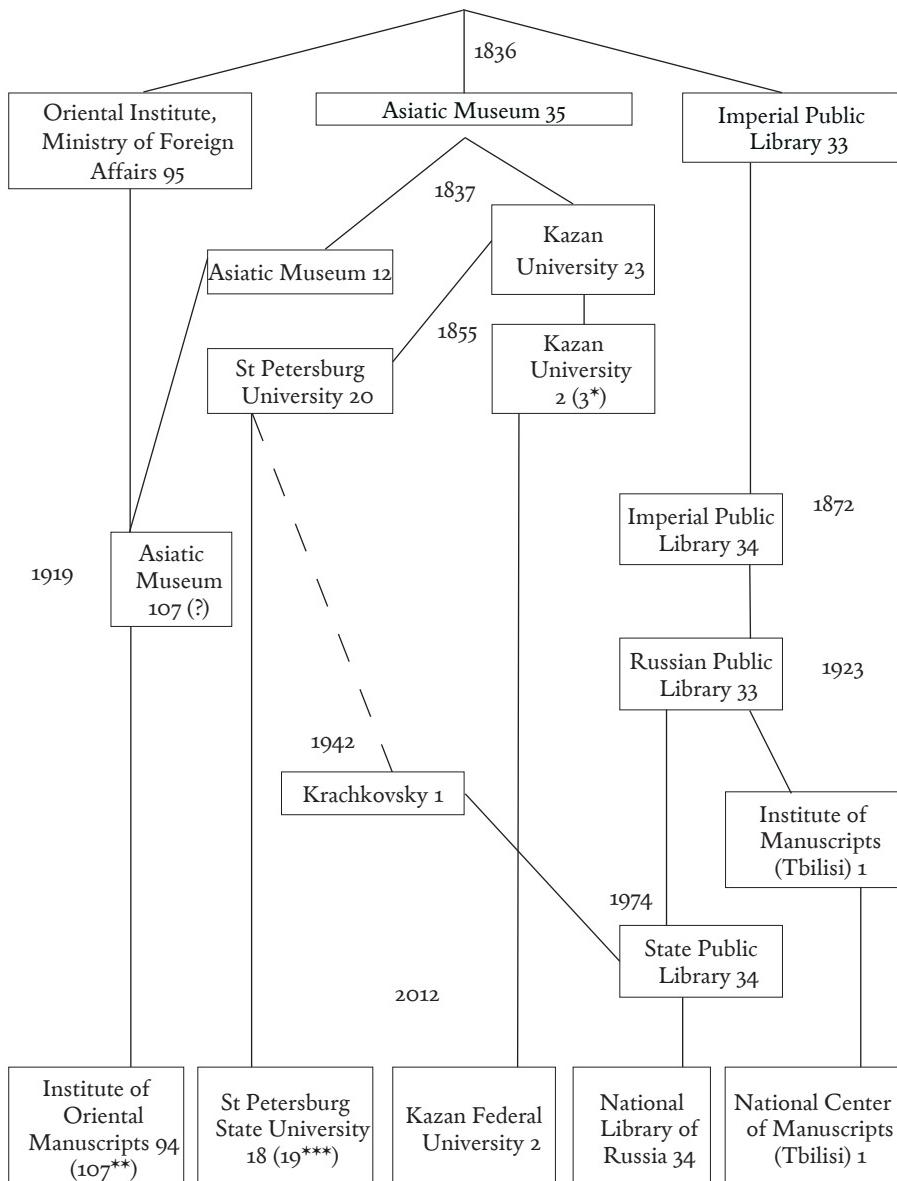
- IOM – Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg  
 (former Asiatic Museum; Leningrad branch of the Institute of People of Asia; St Petersburg branch of the Institute for Oriental Studies)
- NLR – National Library of Russia, St Petersburg (formerly Imperial Public Library; Russian Public Library; State Public Library named after Saltykov-Schedrin)
- RSMHA – Russian state military-historical archive, Moscow
- SPBU – St Petersburg State University

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**APPENDIX 1:**  
**ORIENTALIA SUCHTELEN**



\* One of three items was lost in a fire.

\*\* 13 items are not identified.

\*\*\* One item is absent.

## APPENDIX 2: THE ÅKERBLAD COLLECTION

The list of the collection from Åkerblad's notebook is quoted in italics in columns 1 and 2; in column 2 the inscriptions of unknown persons are added in square brackets (not italics); the angle brackets are used when the reading is impossible (with three dots) or uncertain; column 3 indicates the place/institution (for abbreviations, see p. 502) where the item is housed now, accompanied with its shelf-number, as we could recognize it; the information on the printed catalogues (for abbreviations, see References) in which the manuscript is described, is found in column 4. I thank my colleagues Boris Zaykovsky and Olga Yastrebova who helped me to read the Latin and Arabic texts.

N	Descriptions from the list of Åkerblad	Modern shelf-number	Numbers in printed catalogues
<i>Libri Manuscripti</i>			
1	<i>Cod. Membr. continens libros Novi testamenti omnes partes Apocalypsin, graeci c. margini. form. 4to</i>	Selly Oak college Greek 3	Hunt pp. 55–57, no. 87
2	<i>Membr. Fragmentum Deuteronomii a verso 1. Capitis VII. usque ad versum ultimum Cap. XV. Litteris Samarit. formae quadr.</i>	IOM Sam. 32	Jamkochan
3	<i>Michaëlis Schoti de signis et ymaginibus celi Liber. adjectis Tabulis astronomicis. Pergam. 4to</i>	NLR Lat. F.v. IX. N.1	Labord 56; Bleskina 416
4	<i>Membr. Officium baptismatis, matrimonii, sepulturae, cat. scriptum Jadrae Anno 1529, Mense Decemb. 12mo</i>		
<i>Libri MSS. Coptici</i>			
5	<i>Lectionarium Copt. continens pericopas ex libris Veteri et Novi testamenti fere omnibus item Homiliae quisdem SS. Bischoii, Schenuti aliorumque. Cod. Chart. Levigat. conscriptus in urbe Aegypti Superioris Achmim anno 1427. aerae martyr. i.e. 1122. Hegirae /1710/ forma maxima.</i>	IOM D-229 Ar.	Gunzburg et al. 238
6	<i>Idem liber. Asjoutae anno 1437. aerae mart. 1185./1771/. form. max.</i>	IOM D-230	Gunzburg et al. 239
7	<i>Officium Hebdomadis Sanctae coptice et Arabice. Cod. Chart. laevig. 4to</i>	IOM C-876	Turayev (C) pp. 427–435
8	كتاب مبرك مجموع خدم سنوى من ابصالية الى العذرى مريم و ابينا optici. Cod. Chart. 4to		

9	<i>Officium Hebdomadis Sanctae. 8vo maj.</i>	IOM B-1236?	Turayev (C) pp. 435–437
10	<i>Hymni Coptici, Charta laevigata, 12mo.</i>	IOM B-1237?	Turayev (C), pp. 477–438
	<i>Aethiopici</i>		
11	<i>Laudes B. Mariae virginis. Cod. Membran. fol.</i>	IOM Ef. 19	Gunzburg et al. 255; Turayev (E), p. 37, n. 4
12	<i>Officium Aethiopicum. Cod. Membr. 4to min.</i>	IOM Ef. 65	Gunzburg et al. 252; Turayev (E), p. 33, n. 1
13	<i>Preces Aethiopicae. Cod. membr. 8vo</i>	IOM Ef. 23	Gunzburg et al. 253; Turayev (E), p. 35, n. 2
14	<i>Hymni Aethiop. Cod. membr. 8vo</i>	IOM Ef. 66	Gunzburg et al. 256; Turayev (E), p. 45, n. 5
15	﴿مَلِكٌ مُّصَدِّقٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ إِنَّهُ لِمَنِ اتَّبَعَ أَنْهَاكَ وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَهُ﴾ <i>Cod. Chart. 8vo</i>	IOM Ef. 69	Gunzburg et al. 254; Turayev (E), p. 36, n. 3
	<i>Arabici</i>		
16	كتشf الطنوون عن اسمى الكتب و الفنون لكاتب چليبي الاسكدارى <i>Bibl. Hadgi Chalifae.</i>	IOM D-200	AC 9964; Rosen (A) 214
17	كتاب الروض الفايق فى مواعظ و الرقائق يشتمل على خطب و تزييات و احاديث مرؤيات و قصاید و حکایات و رقائق و جزيات و مناقب الصالحين و ذكر المشايخ العارفين و ذكر اهل الذنوب و الاثام للشيخ شعيب الحرفيش <i>In Africa descriptus Codex form. max.</i>	IOM D-165	AC 2465; Rosen (A) 24
18	كتاب تاريخ يذكر فيه الدول العشر من ادم اول البشر حلقاً عليه السلام الى اخر دول الزمان و هي الدولة المنقطة من ملوك المسلمين الى ملوك المغول و المؤلف له بعض فضلا في الاخبار و خطه كذلك <i>Codex Chart.form. max. Compendium Historiae universalis.</i>	IOM C-703	AC 9343; Rosen (A) 37
19	كتاب الفردوس العقلى و ابصاح اشجار الفضائل التي نصبها الله في غريرة الانسان <i>Liber moralis, quem S. Gregorio tribuerunt scriptores, sed, iudice Bellarmirino auctorum habuit</i> كيما المعلم موسى ابن كيما <i>Scripturo recens. 4to</i> الكلدانى	IOM C-740	AC 6618; Gunzburg et al. 235
20	كتاب حسام كاتى فى المنطق <i>Compendium Logicae. 4to</i>	SPBU 112	Gotwald 84
21	نقى الدين ابن حجة <i>Auctore: qui Saeculo 9. Hegirae floruit, testi Hadgi Chalfa. Liber moralis. 4to</i>	IOM B-1125	AC 9067; Rosen (A) 110

22	كتاب ادوية الفلبية للشيخ الرئيس بن على بن سينا البخاري 8vo <i>Tractatus Avicennae de medicam. cord.</i>	IOM B-1145	AC 10272; Rosen (A) 171
23	مقامات الحريري 50 <i>Consensus Hariri. notis marginalibus. 8vo</i>	IOM B-1093	AC 9139; Rosen (A) 115
24	<i>Alcoranus. 8vo</i>	IOM B-1042 or C-705	AC 120; Rosen (A) 7
25	مجموع في علم الحساب <i>Opuscula varia ad arithmeticam logicamque spectantia.</i> رسالة قضا و قدر منسوب بمحمد الطوسي <i>In eodem volumine Persici. de fato et providentia au&lt;c&gt;t. Tusio.</i>	IOM B-1069	AC 6213, 9392, 9681, 9715; PC 1792, 3157, 3421; Rosen (A) 225
26	ذكرة في علم الهيئة <i>Libellus de astronomia. Chart. Bomb. Script. a. Hedgirae 673./1274/</i>	IOM A-437	AC 5212, 9778; Rosen (A) 187
27	كتاب تاريخ القرمانى و يسمى اخبار الدول و اثار الاول <i>Historia mundi 4to</i>	IOM B-1032	AC 9397; Rosen (A) 54
28	كتاب صدر الشريعة <i>Liber complectens leges rituales et civiles Muhamedanorum. 4to</i>	IOM B-1025	AC 3987; Rosen (A) 19
29	كتاب خريدة العجائب <i>Cosmologia et geographia auctore Ibn al Wardi 4to</i>	IOM A-438?	AC 9616; Rosen (A) 67
30	مجموع الشعراء <i>Carmina Poëtarum variorum. 4to</i>		
31	<i>Fragmenta e variis poëmatibus collecta</i>	IOM B-1099	AC 8979; Rosen (A) 101
32	[ديوان بن الفارض] Poemata Omari filii Alfardii]	IOM A-445	AC 8569; Rosen (A) 93
33	كتاب المعلم المسيحي <i>Liber moralis a Christiano quodam conscriptus.</i>	SPBU 116	Gotvald 1; Salemann & Rosen p. 42
34	كتاب الصرف <i>Grammatica arabica in quatuor partes divisa. Adjectis ad casum paradigmatis. 120</i>	IOM A-441?	
35	رسالة الرابع <i>Elementa astronomiae. 120 [tractatus de quadrante]</i>	NLR Dorn 132	Dorn 132
36	رسالة متهيء للمنطق <i>Elementa Logicae. 120</i>	NLR Dorn 108	Dorn 108
37	<i>Poëmata varia. 4to</i>	NLR Dorn 138	Dorn 138
38	<i>Preces variae Muhamedanorum. 120</i>	SPBU 106 lost!	Gotvald 30; Salemann & Rosen p. 31

<i>Libri Persici</i>			
39	شاه نامه لفردوسى <i>cum fig. miniatis plus quam 70. fol. min.</i>	IOM C-822	PC 2293; Rosen (P) 35
40	مجمل فصيحي فى التواريخ <i>Historia universalis. fol. min.</i>	IOM C-800	PC 3850; Rosen (P) 8
41	انصاب الانبيا <i>Opus historicum fol. min.</i>	IOM C-795	PC 16*; Rosen (P) 5
42	احكام ديوان سلاطين ماضيه <i>Epistolae iuxiae. fol. min.</i>	IOM C-816	PC 4305; Rosen (P) 26
43	تاریخ ناظر شاه <i>Historia Nadir Shah vulgo Thamas Kouli Chan dicti. fol. min.</i>	IOM C-796	PC 502; Rosen (P) 19
44	<i>Dialogi Persico-Arbici, dialecto hodierna Persorum conscripti. 4to</i>	SPBU 109	Gotwald 160
45	ديوان حافظ <i>Poëmata Hafezi. 8vo maj.</i>	IOM A-478	PC 1432; Rosen (P) 72
46	<i>Elementa astronomiae. c. fig.</i>	IOM B-833	PC 1887
47	کلستان <i>Rosarium Saadi cum interpretatione Turcica interlin. 8vo maj.</i>	IOM B-1194	PC 3558; Rosen (P) 57
48	بستان <i>ejusdem auctoris. 8vo</i>	IOM A-475	PC 326; Rosen (P) 49
49	كتاب احلاق ناصرى <i>Liber moralis. 8vo</i>	IOM B-1152	PC 76; Rosen (P) 109
50	شیستان نکار کلستان لغات <i>Historiae et fabulae variae. 8vo</i>	IOM A-464	PC 2303; Rosen (P) 102
51	بستان <i>Saadii. 8vo</i>	IOM A-477	PC 328; Rosen (P) 50
52	ديوان شاهى <i>Divan Shahi. 8o</i>	IOM A-479	PC 1517; Rosen (P) 77
53	ديوان حافظ <i>Divan Hafez. 8o</i>	IOM B-1198	PC 1450; Rosen (P) 73
54	مجموعه رسمايل في علم الهروض لوحيدتبريزى <i>De arte poëtica. 8vo</i>	IOM A-483	PC 924, 1058–1859, 1960; Rosen (P) 101
55	بهارستان <i>Auctor Abderrahman Effendi Ibn Ahmed, vulgo Gjami Effendi. 8vo</i>	IOM A-473	PC 372; Rosen (P) 83
<i>Libri Turcici</i>			
56	كتاب فناوى <i>Sententiae legales Muhamedanorum. fol. min.</i>	IOM D-214	TC 396; Smirnow 2

57	<i>Materia medica ad seriem alphabeti ordinata. 4to</i>	IOM B-1181	TC 333; Smirnow 33
58	ادوار موسقی <i>Tractatus de musica. 4to</i>	IOM B-1016	TC 2201; 2207
59	انشاء نامه <i>Formulae litterarum. 4to</i>	IOM B-1179	TC 919; Smirnow 42
59*	انشاء مرغوب جریر <i>aliae formulae epistolarum. 4to</i>	IOM B-1180	TC 928; Smirnow 40
60	دولت روسیه ایله دولت عثمانیه سننده تجارت عهد نامه <i>Tractatus com[m]ercis Turcarum c. Imperio Rusia. 4to</i>	IOM B-746	TC 262
61	عرضو و قنبر حکایتی <i>Historia Aizui et Kambaris. 4to</i>	IOM A-491	TC 1965; Smirnow 63
62	<i>Doctrina Fidei Muhamedanorum. 4to</i>	SPBU 119?	Salemann & Rosen p. 24
63	<i>Dialogi Turcici sermonis elegantioris. 4to</i>	SPBU 110?	Salemann & Rosen p. 24
64	<i>Disquisitio juridica, qua ratione Muhamedanus qui in plagi borealibus versatur debeat prius et &lt;siguniam?&gt;.. Ramazani observare.</i>	IOM B-1172	TC 419; Smirnow 1
65	کتاب کلسته تأثیف دفتردار آل عثمان <i>de officiis, Veziri, Defterdarri aliorumque. 4to</i>	IOM B-1174	TC 368; Smirnow 24
66	دیوان شوکت 8vo	IOM C-854	PC 1537; Rosen (P) 91
Pers!			
67	نهی ارضرومی قتل فی سنه اربه و اربیین و الف) دیوان نهی <i>Hadgi Chalfa)</i>	IOM B-1204	TC 1257; Smirnow 57
68	دیوان باقی 8vo	IOM B-1205	TC 1242; Smirnow 66
69	بیسوف و زلیحا حمدی 8vo	IOM A-488	TC 1169; Smirnow 50
70	<i>Idem liber. 8vo</i>	IOM A-487	TC 1170; Smirnow 49
71	طبع کتاب <i>Tractatus de Diaeta. 8vo</i>	IOM A-485?	TC 320; Smirnow 32
72	(حسن بن سیدی خواجه للمعروف باهی) حسن دل اهی	IOM A-492	TC 1825; Smirnow 29
73	تحفة شاهدی <i>vocabularium Persico-Turicum ad regulas metricas conscriptum. 8vo</i>	IOM A-470	PC 631; Rosen (P) 121
74	<i>Idem liber. 8vo</i>	SPBU 118	Salemann & Rosen pp. 13, 17

75	دقایق الحقایق لاین الکمال <i>Vocabula synonyma Li&lt;sub&gt;n&lt;/sub&gt;guae Persicae.</i> 8vo	SPBU 123	Salemann & Rosen pp. 14, 15
76	ارضو ایله قبیر حکایه سی <i>Historia Arzui et Kamber.</i> 8vo	IOM C-835	TC 1966; Smirnow 64
77	<i>Tractatus foederis inter Port. Ottom. et Regem Galliae.</i> 12mo	NLR Dorn 540	Dorn 540
78	ایا صوفیه کتبخانه سنک دفتری <i>Catalogus librorum, qui in Bibliothecae S. Sophiae Constant. asservantur.</i> 8o	IOM A-449	TC 293; Rosen (A) 216
79	روز نامه <i>Calendarium perpetuum</i>		
80	۷۰۲۱ تقویم سنہ <i>Calendarium anni 1207. Hedgirae</i>		
81	<i>Volumen litteras varias complectens</i>  <i>Tartarici</i>		
82	لغت ایوشقه <i>Dictionarium Tartarico-Turicum a primo vocabulo Apuschka dictum.</i>	IOM B-1178	TC 877; Smirnow 81
83	تذكرة الشعراء <i>Vita poëtarum Tartarorum.</i>	IOM B-1187 ?	TC 1871; Smirnow 74
84	نوای اسکندر نامه <i>Historia Alexandri versibus conscripta auctore</i>	IOM C-807	TC 1151; Smirnow 84
	<i>Appendix</i>		
85	کتاب نگارستان شهرستان در خستان ....> <i>Turcici</i>	IOM C-806	TC 1228; Smirnow 52